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AUTHOR Collins, James L.
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ABSTRACT

A study examined a resistant student's interactive discursive practices within a participant framework. Data were taken from observations, audiotapes, and transcripts of teacher-led small group discussions in two sixth-grade classrooms at a public urban middle school. Seven visiting teachers from a university and 56 students in the two classes worked in groups consisting of one teacher and four students. The groups were asked to discuss and write in response to a series of tasks focusing on readings about people. The audiotape and transcript used to illustrate the role of the resistant student recorded a lesson from the first day of study of a 670-word excerpt from "The Acorn People." Results indicated that "resistant" students may be sufficiently competent in classroom discourse to participate meaningfully in the dialogue but choose to participate intermittently. The particular student was interested less in taking part in the discussion than in taking it apart, preferring to move in and out of the lesson, sometimes contributing to the lesson but more often opposing it. (Contains 22 references, 5 notes, and 12 figures presenting segments of the transcript. The excerpt from "The Acorn People," a transcription guide, and the complete transcript of the discussion of "The Acorn People" are attached.) (RS)

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ED 371 306

Dialogue and Resistance in Small-Group Reading-Writing Instruction

Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, April 4, 1994

James L. Collins
State University of New York at Buffalo

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Introduction

My focus in this paper is on the "uncooperative" participant in classroom discourse. The uncooperative student has often been described as not exercising sufficient communicative competence, as "not knowing the 'rules of the game' -- the standard ways -- of communicating in the classroom' (Wilkinson, 1982, p. 5). This lack of familiarity with academic language, in turn, may be seen as part of a larger problem of incongruence between the language of home and school (as in Heath, 1983; Delpit, 1986, 1988; Gee, 1990). This study questions the assumption of underused or underdeveloped communicative competence and its connection to uncooperative participation in classroom discourse by suggesting that, at least in some classroom contexts, the uncooperative student may suffer less from not knowing the rules of the classroom communication game than from resisting the enactment of that game.

I am using *resistance* in the sense of challenging authority, both the authority of the teacher and of reified knowledge (Everhart, 1983).

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Resistance thus means oppositional behavior[1] and takes two principal forms in the teacher-led small group literacy lessons which provide the data in the study. It shows up most frequently in brief comments when the resistant participant plays a different role from the one assigned by the classroom communication game, and it shows up in more extended comments where the resistance begins to take on the character of a different conversational game. Contrary to the conventional view where resistance is seen as isolated from the primary classroom language socialization process, the data in this study suggest that resistance depends on dialogue which is part of the primary classroom language socialization process. Like compliance, resistance is initiated and sustained through interactive language processes.

In place of the metaphor of game playing, Cazden (1988) compares classroom discourse to enacted drama:

> Whereas utterances are psychological phenomena produced by a single person, speech events such as lessons are social events accomplished by the collaborative work of two or more people. In metaphorical terms, "school" is always a performance that must be constituted through the participation of a group of actors. But only one of them -- the teacher -- knows (or thinks she knows) how it is supposed to be played, and so she assumes the dual roles of stage director and principal actor. She is the only native speaker in the classroom culture; yet she has to depend on her "immigrant" students for help in enacting a culturally defined activity. (p. 44)

What the metaphors of game and performance have in common is the fact that both are constructed or scripted activities, fictions complete with plots, settings and characters. Enacting the performance depends on

collaboration and compliance; if the teacher is the director and principal actor, students must cooperate in filling the other roles in the drama. Indeed, as Cazden suggests in the analogy involving classroom, culture, "native" teacher and "immigrant" student, compliance in enacted performances is what "doing school" is all about.

If a smoothly run class is an enacted drama, then we might consider the actions of a resistant participant as something akin to the alienation devices of Brecht, who sought to break the spell of the drama by bringing the audience's attention to their immediate surroundings. The very necessity of compliance in enacted drama, that is, raises the possibility of resistance in the form of breaking the spell of the drama. Cazden (1988) discusses this possibility in terms of "unofficial peer culture" (p. 150), "'secondary adjustments to institutional expectations" (p. 153), and "oppositional processes" (p. 153). A clearer understanding of the mechanics of resistance, however, and especially of the way resistance is initiated and sustained through interactive language processes, is available if we use the concept of participant framework (O'Connor and Michaels, 1993; Goodwin, 1990), which refers to the ways "that speech-event participants are aligned with each other or in opposition to each other and, moreover, how they are positioned relative to topics and even utterances" (O'Connor and Michaels, 1993, p. 321). In school, the default participant framework has a participant structure (Erickson, 1982) with conventional interactional rights and responsibilities for teacher and student talk and conventional patterns of animation (Goffman, 1981) in which speakers give each other roles and social identities relevant to their talk. O'Connor and Michaels (1993) make the point that participants in discourse constantly renew and sometimes renegotiate the participant framework through their

talk. Just as teachers and students maintain the default framework by sustaining roles and social identities through their remarks, teachers and students can negotiate changes in the default framework. The possibility of adjusting the participant framework is what makes resistance worthwhile, and accordingly, it is where this study breaks with the conventional view where resistance is seen as isolated from the primary classroom language socialization process. Resistance is an interactive part of the primary classroom language socialization process precisely because it seeks to alter that process through negotiation of the participant framework, negotiation which begins with breaking the spell of the enacted drama.

Resistance, then, is comprised of challenges to the authority of the teacher and reified knowledge, and the challenges show up in student language which breaks the spell of the enacted drama, thus opposing and possibly altering the conventional participant framework in classroom discourse. In what follows, I show how this definition of resistance describes the remarks of a student named Shajuan[2] in his role as a participant in a 30 minute small-group classroom discussion. At several points in the dialogue, Shajuan seems to make inappropriate and ill-timed remarks which might be attributed to a lack of communicative competence. I argue that Shajuan is not merely interrupting the performance but is challenging it by trying on different roles, especially that of the teacher or stage manager, and by attempting to change the ongoing construction of a conventional classroom participant structure. This second perspective suggests that Shajuan possesses classroom communicative competence but chooses not to comply with playing a student's role consistently or completely. He is more interested in the mechanics of the lesson, in how it is staged and directed, challenged and sustained or diverted, than in giving

himself entirely over to the compliant student's role that the teacher would have him play in the participant framework. Throughout the report my purpose is to show that resistance, like compliance, involves interactive discursive practices within a participant framework. Resistant students are not resistant all by themselves.

The Setting for the Study

The study takes its data from observations, audiotapes and transcripts of teacher-led small group discussions in two urban sixth-grade classrooms at a public urban middle school, Central Park School. The school serves an African American neighborhood and has 600 students across two levels: an early childhood center, grades pre-K through 2, and an academy, grades 3 through 8. The small group discussions were part of the work of a school-university partnership connecting my university and Central Park, a partnership set up to provide school-based pre-practicum tutoring and teaching experiences for graduate students and to enhance the literacy learning and college aspirations of the sixth graders.

The discussions and writings took place during once-weekly classes over a period of seven months. Seven visiting teachers from the university and 56 students in the two classes worked in groups consisting of one teacher and four students. The groups were asked to discuss and write in response to a series of tasks focusing on readings about people. The literary works under discussion in the data used in the larger study from which this report was taken were Langston Hughes' "Thank You, Ma'am," a short story about a woman who disciplines a young purse thief, and an excerpt from Ron Jones' *The Acorn People*, a nonfiction book about the capabilities of disabled children.

The audiotape and transcript I am using to illustrate the role of the resistant student record a lesson from the first day of study of the 670 word excerpt from *The Acorn People* (see Appendix A). The teacher in the small-group discussion was Gardner, a member of the university team in the school-university partnership. In his planning notes Gardner described the lesson as an exercise in close reading, inference making and notetaking in preparation for writing about the Acorn People excerpt. The format of the lesson, again as described by Gardner, is teaching by modeling and collaboration and consists mostly of his reading portions of the excerpt aloud and leading discussions of what the reading means and how to record the meaning in student notes. Before telling the class to break into small groups, Gardner introduced the Acorn People lesson to the whole class, and his introduction anticipates both the performance and the resistance enacted in the lesson, as seen in the initial selection from the transcript[3] in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Gardner introduced the drama to be enacted and the roles to be played by students by telling them they were about to begin a collaborative reading project in preparation for writing. He told them the reading was difficult and added that they would receive assistance in figuring out what it means. He held up the page and told students to treat the material on it as a mystery or detective story. At this point, he acknowledged Shajuan's bid to speak, and Shajuan said that, to him, the page looked like a bar graph. The bar-graph remark seems innocuous, and only after listening to the tape

several times did we recognize it as part of two larger patterns by Shajuan: pointing to observed items in the situational context instead of participating in the enacted drama, and imitating the teacher by doing what Gardner is doing in a different participant framework. Together these patterns comprise a kind of resistance by mimesis. Perhaps it is equally plausible that Shajuan might be sharing an observation or challenging the idea of helping to negotiate the meaning of the selection Gardner was introducing, but the continuing interaction between Gardner and Shajuan supports the second interpretation in which Shajuan is challenging Gardner's authority.

After Shajuan's bar-graph comment, Gardner returned to his introduction and repeated his call for reading closely and detecting meaning. This interactive pattern -- Gardner leading and contributing to a performance, Shajuan offering a seemingly unrelated observation or question, Gardner acknowledging the remark but quickly moving back to the performance -- appears throughout the transcript, as illustrated below. I call this pattern "Initiation - Resistance - Acknowledgment" (IRA) to suggest its relatedness to Mehan's (1979) "Initiation - Response - Evaluation" (IRE) sequence and also to contrast it with a later pattern of "Initiation - Resistance - Disregard" (IRD) in which Shajuan's resistance is ignored by Gardner. The IRD pattern of language interaction is the primary outcome of the resistant nature of Shajuan's participation. Both the IRA and IRD patterns are the IRE pattern with a little spin on it, and both situate the resistant behavior in the *interaction* between Shajuan and Gardner and not only in Shajuan's remarks. The significance of this study, as I suggested in my introduction, resides in this observation that resistance is as much a result of interactive classroom communication as compliance is.

The Role of the Resistant Participant

The Acorn People lesson is primarily composed of the two types of substructures generally found in classroom lessons, the Initiation - Response - Evaluation sequence (IRE), and the Topically Related Set (TRS); as usual, IRE's combine to make TRS's which in turn combine to make up the whole lesson (Mehan, 1979; Cazden, 1986, 1988). Interspersed throughout the lesson are "spontaneous improvisations" (Erickson, 1982), moments of variation from the enacted performance and its overall IRE-TRS structure, and it is these moments of improvisation which provide the "Initiation - Resistance - Acknowledgment" (IRA) and "Initiation - Resistance - Disregard" (IRD) sequences. Not surprisingly, resistance is a matter of improvisation. What is surprising, though is the observation that improvisation on the part of the teacher can possibly cue resistance on the part of a student, as in the excerpt from the lesson in Figure 2.

Insert Figure 2 about here

In the improvisation in Figure 2, it is Gardner who pointed to a real object outside of the performance, just as Shajuan had done in Figure 1. Here, though, the comment is made in an aside to Tenika as the lesson was switching from whole-class to small-group formats, as indicated by the directions to open the pads for notetaking in lines 1 and 11. Gardner filled the "air space" between sections of the lesson by jokingly asking Tenika about her inhaler, "What do you use that for, keep the mosquitoes away?" (line 5). Shajuan's answer, "We ain't got no mosquitoes this time of year/"

indicates that he took Gardner seriously and is challenging his question. The remark also suggests that Shajuan is aware of Gardner's real status as a visiting teacher, an outsider in the students' school and community. This raises the interesting question of who the real outsider is, Shajuan for placing himself on the periphery of the discussion circle, as we shall see him do repeatedly in what follows or Gardner for coming to the school from another community. Because Gardner's original comment was addressed to Tenika but answered first by Shajuan, Shajuan was speaking out of turn, a fact which risks impertinence but also adds effectiveness to his challenge. Gardner admits he was only joking and thus acknowledges Shajuan's challenge, possibly acquiescing to it in the process with the admission that "I know/ I'm just being a wise guy." Meanwhile, Tenika answers his original question about the use of the inhaler by saying, "Because I have allergies..." (line 9). It seems clear that Shajuan was opposing Gardner, since his remark offers a factual correction to an apparently inaccurate assumption Gardner is making. This interpretation of opposition is supported by comparing Shajuan's and Tenika's responses to his remark. Tenika also takes the joke literally, but her answer is more compliant than that of Shajuan because it answers the question instead of correcting it. The pattern of dialogue I alled "Initiation - Resistance - Acknowledgment" is evident in this exchange between Gardner and Shajuan. In the exchange with Tenika, the pattern is more "Initiation - Compliance - Acknowledgment" which, of course, is another name for the conventional IRE sequence.

Figure 3 presents another improvisation initiated by Gardner, this time congratulating Tasha for putting the date on the page she is preparing for writing.

Insert Figure 3 about here

This improvisation can be said to come right after the earlier one, since the material in the transcript between the end of Figure 2 and the beginning of Figure 3 consists of brief, unrelated remarks expressed as part of getting ready for the upcoming academic task. Because Gardner begins with two informal improvisations, we can infer that he is setting a tone of informality and friendliness for the lesson he is introducing. Shajuan, however, takes Gardner's praise of Tasha as a personal oversight. If we read down his column in Figure 2, we see that he is expressing a sense of having been overlooked by Gardner. He seems to be setting himself up as a victim of disregard, especially in his "I don't get nuttin/" comment in line 24. Perhaps he is joking in Rodney Dangerfield fashion, but his intonation here suggests that he is serious in claiming that his academic efforts typically are not recognized. The fact that Gardner is talking mostly to Rainier while Shajuan is complaining seems to reinforce Shajuan's claim and to anticipate the genuine disregard that will come later in the lesson. Even before the lesson really gets going, Shajuan sees himself near the outside of the discursive circle, off center stage of the performance or near the boundary of the participant framework, and this belief becomes more credible to us because Shajuan expresses it while Gardner is busy bringing others into the circle. In Figure 4 Shajuan suggests that he is too accomplished a speller to need Gardner's advice to use the text being studied as a guide to spelling, and here again Shajuan seems to be setting himself apart from the other students.

Insert Figure 4 about here

The contrast between Shajuan's comment ("Now, if you don't know how to spell a:corn/" line 37) and Tenika's questions ("Should we put the author? Do you want the author?" line 35), together with Gardner's speaking to each of the other three but not Shajuan, reinforces the perception of Shajuan as outside, or at least on the periphery, of the discourse. If indeed Shajuan is setting himself apart from the group, then it is also true that the others willingly comply in establishing his isolation.

I don't want to give the impression, however, that Shajuan moves to the outside of the circle and stays there. A truer depiction of his resistance is available if we notice that he repeatedly moves in and out of the dialogue. His movement back into the center of the discourse is evident in Figure 5 where he is a contributing member to two of three IRE sequences

Insert Figure 5 about here

In the two IRE sequences in lines 61 - 69 Shajuan is doing exactly what Gardner wants. He is reading the text closely, making inferences about the reading, and supporting the inferences with evidence from the text. Clearly at this point Shajuan is an active, communicatively competent participant in the discourse. His resistant behavior has temporarily abated, and his remarks resemble those of Rainier who answers Gardner's question in the next IRE sequence. Gardner acknowledges Shajuan's contribution by positively evaluating reading ahead in line 69. Notice, though, that it is

Rainier's remark ("Because when they say straight up/," line 71) that Gardner selects to be written down as the second item in student notes. The suggestion implicit here is that reading ahead may not be such a good idea after all.

We might be tempted to infer that Gardner values Rainier's contribution more than that of Shajuan in Figure 5. That pattern, however, is not present in Figure 6 where Shajuan is seen again in the role of cooperative student.

Insert Figure 6 about here

This time Shajuan's remark is immediately acknowledged by Gardner in line 146, just as Rainier's was in line 144. Perhaps Gardner is welcoming Shajuan back into the circle of participants, but it is more likely that he is simply selectively acknowledging student remarks in both Figures 5 and 6. In Figure 6 Shajuan's question in line 145 is a revoicing of Rainier's in line 143, and both Gardner (line 146) and Tenika (line 152) revoice Shajuan's version of the question and add that it deserves to be written down. O'Connor and Michaels (1993) demonstrate how such revoicings advance intellectual socialization by coordinating academic task structure and social participation structure. The revoicings thus suggest that Shajuan is a full contributing student member of the small group at this point in the discussion of the text. Even in the midst of the revoicings, however, Shajuan seems to shun the role of compliant student in the participant structure when he does some revoicing of his own in line 148, "Yeah/ Put that down please/ [To Tasha] Don't you push me, OK?." Here Shajuan

takes on the role of the teacher by revoicing Gardner's instruction to write the question in their notes, and then he immediately steps out of the performance by telling Tasha not to push him. Is Shajuan demonstrating a lack of communicative competence here by attempting a different role and then stepping out of the drama entirely? Perhaps, but I think it is more likely that he has found himself so close to the center of the discursive circle that he can risk having a little fun. At any rate, he offers resistance to the flow of the dialogue, and his remarks have the effect of moving him away from the center of the participant structure. Gardner's final revoicing of the Who and Why questions in line 153, "Yeah/ And why/ Who would want to go up the mountain in wheelchairs and why/ Good/ Yeah/" repeats both Rainier and Tenika, but not Shajuan, suggesting that Shajuan has successfully moved off center stage once again.

In the remainder of the transcript Shajuan attempts to repeat this pattern of moving out of the circle of dialogue and then moving back in. In Figure 7 he discusses the tape recorder again.

Insert Figure 7 about here

Gardner asks a question about the second character the group encounters in reading the excerpt, and the three compliant students answer, "Carry people/", which is a revoicing from the text. Shajuan's comment on his spelling ability in line 182 and his brief subsequent silence seems to place him outside of or on the periphery of the discussion. Gardner evaluates the answers of the compliant three as correct by repeating "He wants to carry people/" and adding another question, "What do we know about Dominic/

therefore?" line 187. In interview data Gardner stated that he wanted the students to reason from the premise of Dominic's offer of carrying others to the conclusion that Dominic is not handicapped, but he had not told the students that they were supposed to be classifying all the characters into handicapped and non-handicapped categories. As a result, Gardner's question has the appearance of a "closed" question, and Tenika and Tasha seem to be guessing at what Gardner has in mind when they answer "he's helpful" in lines 188 and 190. At this point, line 191, Shajuan introduces a closed question of his own, "Will you put these in the laboratory?" and Gardner tries to guess what's on his (Shajuan's) mind. This questioning and guessing goes on for a few lines, until Shajuan expresses his question less formally, "Will y'all put that in the boom box?" in line 196. Like the bar-graph comment earlier, this one opposes the unfolding of the lesson by indexing a real object, the tape, in the classroom, but this time the question has the same form as the teacher's questioning. If Shajuan is again challenging Gardner's authority and temporarily altering the participant structure, he is doing so by exactly imitating the format of Gardner's own question. This is another example of resistance by mimesis, with the roles of teacher and student, questioner and answering party, becoming momentarily reversed. The data suggest that Shajuan's question is a successful opposition to the performance of the lesson, as seen by its fitting the "Initiation - Resistance - Acknowledgment" (IRA) pattern I introduced above.

After the portion of the transcript in Figure 7, Shajuan remains silent for more than five minutes, with the exception of one brief comment[4]. In Figure 8, he presents another improvisation, one which seems to have even less to do with the lesson than the excerpt in Figure 7.

Insert Figure 8 about here

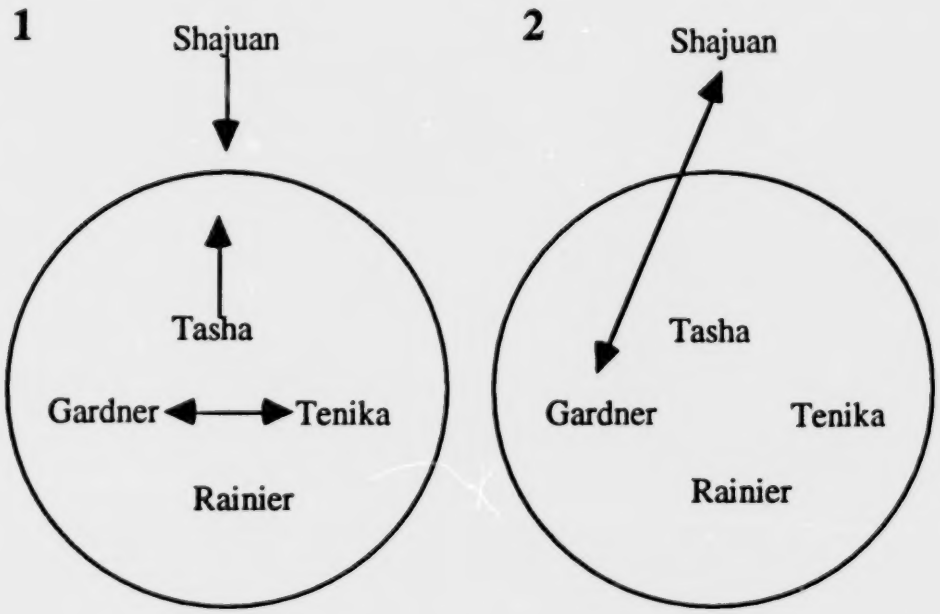
Gardner stated in an interview that he had no idea why Shajuan suddenly asked, "Who was our president back in 1976?", a point that is also evident in Gardner's response to the question in line 281, "I don't know/why do you want to know that?" Observational data suggest two possible reasons for the question. First, a calendar with information about American presidents hung near Shajuan's seat, suggesting that this improvisation is, like the others, an indexing of an item in the situational context. Second, Gardner's last question, in line 269 of the transcript, had a similar format to Shajuan's: "Aaron had a similar plan to/ whose plan?" This would seem to be another example of resistance through reversing the roles of teacher and student and imitating the format of one of Gardner's own questions. Gardner explained in an interview that his last comment in Figure 8, "Lookit/ Let's worry about Aaron/ OK," was meant to get the lesson back on track.

In the excerpt in Figure 9, Shajuan makes his clearest statement that he is participating in the lesson reluctantly when he says, "I want this story o:ver/ yes/" (line 296).

Insert Figure 9 about here

This time the item indexed is the story itself, and the message is that Shajuan has grown tired of the lesson. Notice that Tasha asks him to stop, though we are not sure whether she means stop complaining or something

else. Tenika goes right on compliantly playing the role of detective when she infers from Gardner's reading that Martin can walk. As the following diagram suggests, in terms of our metaphor of a discursive circle to represent the participant structure, we can say in the left circle (1) which represents the beginning of the excerpt in Figure 9 (lines 293-297), Gardner and Tenika are near the center, Tasha is looking outward toward Shajuan who is outside the circle by virtue of his commenting on the activity going on within it (as distinct from Rainier who is within the circle by virtue of his silence at this point). The participant framework changes to the circle on the right (2) with the exchange between Shajuan and Gardner at the end of Figure 9, "[To Gardner] Man/ you should go on/ [To Shajuan] Tenika says Martin can walk/." As both parts off the diagram illustrate, even when Shajuan is outside of the circle, he interacts with people within it.



In Figure 10 Shajuan steps back inside the circle by asking a question relevant to the discussion, "What kind of mountain was this?"

Insert Figure 10 about here

Shajuan may be within the discursive circle here, but he is not a cooperative member of the participant structure. He first criticizes Tenika's addition of "Why?" to his question (lines 319-320), and then he gets into a debate with Tasha over who deserves credit for his question. His criticism and the debate have the effect of momentarily changing the participant structure. Shajuan tries to establish himself, once again, as the under-respected contributing member of the discursive circle, as he had done with his "I don't get nuttin/" comment in Figure 3. Gardner dismisses the importance of Shajuan's claim to the question, "What kind of mountain was this?" just after the excerpt in Figure 10 by first saying, "OK/ so we got that established" (line 331 of the full transcript) and then laughing. This exchange suggests that once Shajuan has taken himself too far out of the circle, he has trouble getting back in. Members of the group become accustomed to ignoring Shajuan, except in this case for Tasha who gets into a brief argument with him. Shajuan is sent the message that he is not being taken seriously by Gardner on group business. The debate exchange, in other words, is not the officially sanctioned performance, and Shajuan's alteration to the participant framework is a short lived one. This is an example of the IRA and IRD patterns I mentioned in the introduction. Gardner initiates a discussion, Shajuan resists by asking a question of his own, and Gardner acknowledges the question, giving the IRA pattern.

Shajuan then turns his question into another form of resistance, a debate over who should get credit for asking the question. Gardner lets the debate go on for a moment, then dismisses it as unimportant, completing the IRD pattern. Figure 11 shows an even more extreme case of the IRD pattern because this time Gardner does not even allow Shajuan to break into the discussion.

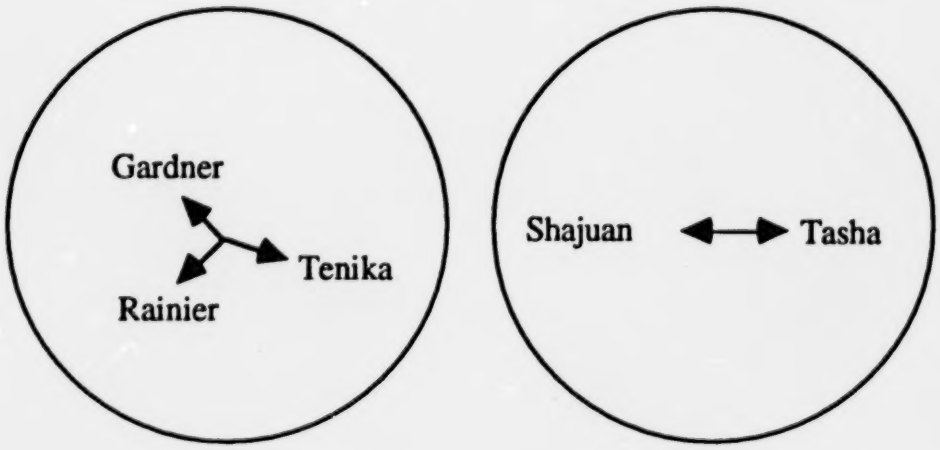
Insert Figure 11 about here

Ignoring or disregarding an improvisation, regardless of whether the improvisation is resistant or compliant, is itself a form of resistance. An improvisation is more than a bid to speak; it is a bid to change the subject of discourse and the participant framework. Figure 12 shows what can happen when a student's resistant improvisation is not resisted by the teacher and other students.

Insert Figure 12 about here

In this excerpt, Shajuan manages to successfully compete with Gardner for control of the discussion. His success is probably attributable to an interesting question, "Hey/ what do I want for Christmas?," line 483, and to the device he uses of pausing as if to wait for an answer and then answering the question himself: "How bout a Jacuzzi?/ Yeah I want a Jacuzzi!" Tasha and Gardner are drawn into conversation with him, and Tasha maintains her role in the conversation, even after Gardner goes back to the main line of discussion after Rainier's question, "Who carried Phillip?" in line 492.

This time the participant structure has more than the brief alteration we saw in the diagram accompanying Figure 9. For several lines (493-498) the participant structure becomes split into two discussion circles with Gardner leading one and Shajuan leading the other:



At the end of the excerpt in Figure 12, in line 499, Gardner attempts to re-unite the two circles by capitalizing on Tenika's question asked in lines 496-500:

Line	Gardner	Tenika
496		Wait a minute/
497	The narrator carried Thomas/	I got a question/
498		What is the narrator's name?
499	Here's/ HERE'S A GOOD QUESTION/ say it/	
500		What is the narrator's name?

The attempt to re-unite the two circles is successful, as we see in Figure 13, not only because Gardner spoke it in a loud voice, getting everyone's attention, and not only because he turned established that it is Tenika's turn to speak, but also because Shajuan chooses to answer Tenika's question:

Insert Figure 13 about here

Shajuan identifies the narrator as the author of the story, and thus brings the two circles back into one. This earns Gardner's praise in the last line of the transcript: "Man/ that's good thinking!"

Throughout the transcript, Shajuan breaks the enacted drama of the class, the detective-game inquiry into the meaning of the text, comprised of reading, taking notes, inferring meanings and constructing an understanding of the text. Shajuan is not part of the performance. He is concentrating on the reality of the situation, the visiting university people, the re-structuring they have brought with them, their equipment, their work. At the level of re-voicing, Shajuan looks very much like the others. At the level of content, he seems to focus on his own interests and his intention seems to be to satisfy his own curiosity. In the final analysis Shajuan is a resistant participant, but a participant nonetheless because he sufficiently understands the communicative demands characteristic of school. He just doesn't care to play the game.

Conclusion

Following such theorists as Vygotsky (1934/1988) and Bakhtin (1975/1981), and in company with proponents of collaborative, constructivist, inference-based approaches to literacy learning, current

approaches to literacy instruction recommend increased use of dialogue as a mode of classroom discourse. A greater role for classroom dialogue is an essential part of moving, for example, from whole-class to collaborative instruction, from a code-based theory of communication to an inference-based theory, and from transmissionist methods to constructivist ones.

But what about the uncooperative student? This study suggests that such students may be sufficiently competent in classroom discourse to participate meaningfully in the dialogue but choose to participate intermittently. Shajuan, the resistant student in the study, shows very little interest at times in the fiction of a detective-game analysis of text. The three other students are willing participants in the game, especially Tenika and Tasha. Rainier picks his spots more carefully, but he too is a willing participant and contributes to the progress of the discussion[5]. Shajuan, however, is interested less in taking part in the discussion than in taking it apart. He deals with the discussion as a social reality; for him, the discussion is a problem to be solved or a competition to be won. For the teacher in the study, the discussion is a fictional performance for practice in text analysis and word manipulation, and the compliant three students willingly play along. For them, the dialogue is a conventional school exercise they have seen many times, and they take their roles and play out the drama. Shajuan, too, has seen the game before, but for him it is not a game he wants to play consistently. He prefers to move in and out of the lesson, sometimes contributing to the lesson but more often opposing it. We cannot be sure of the reason for his resistance, but we can notice that it both uses and opposes the interactive participant structure of the lesson.

James L. Collins is associate professor of education at the State University of New York at Buffalo.

Footnotes

[1]In making resistance equivalent to oppositional behavior, I am not completely excluding the additional criterion of sociopolitical significance required in other definitions of resistance (for example, Willis, 1977; Giroux, 1983; Solomon, 1992). Rather, I am viewing sociopolitical significance as a matter of intention beyond the scope of this paper.

[2]All names are pseudonyms.

[3]The multiple-column format of transcripts in this study is a modification of Ochs, 1979. See Appendix B for transcription guidelines and Appendix C for the full transcript of the small-group discussion.

[4]The comment was "I THINK SPIDER IS IN A WHEELCHAIR/" spoken directly into the tape recorder in line 250 of the transcript.

[5]The possibility that Rainier's prolonged silences are another form of resistance is beyond the scope of this paper.

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Figure 1. Teacher introduction of the Acorn People lesson.

Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan
This is another tough piece of reading/ OK/ but don't worry because we're gonna help you read it/ We're gonna help you read it/ we're gonna help you figure out/ we're gonna help you take notes about it/	
And then next week/ when you come to the university/ you'll have all of your thinking that went into this/ all of your prewriting/ and you'll write a little about this piece of writing/ OK?/ Right now/ today/ when we get into our groups/ I want you please to think of this as a mystery story/ as a detective story/	
[To Shajuan] Go ahead/	
	{Referring to the columns of text on the page Gardner is holding up, as in Appendix A} Those look like two big blocks in a bar graph/
These look like two big blocks on the paragraph/ from where you are	
	(No)/ look like a bar graph
Like a bar graph/ right/ OK	
There's a lot of writing on this page/ you're right/ it's kind of packed together/	
But/ you know/ we're not here to make it easy/ we're here to make it tough and to help you get the job done/	
Treat this as a detective story/ together in our groups we'll figure out what's going on/ OK?	

Figure 2. Teacher "mosquitoes" improvisation.

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
1	OK/ Open your pad to a clean page/				
2	Do you, do you know how to take notes on your reading?		Open your pad/		
3			Ye: :s/	Yes/	
4	OK. We're gonna take notes on our reading this morning/				
5	[To Tenika] What do you use that for, keep the mosquitoes away?				
6		We ain't got no mosquitoes this time of year/			
7	I know/ I'm just being a wise guy/				
8		The Acorn People/			
9				Because I have allergies	
10	Oh, that helps allergies?			and I put that into my nose/	
11	OK/ Turn to a clean page in your pad here/				

Figure 3. Student "get nuttin" improvisation.

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
19	Follow along with me/ [To Tasha] Do you have a clean page? Yeah/ Put the date on it/ That's a good idea/ Today's 11/5/92/ See how she did? [To Tasha] What's your name?				
20			Tasha/		
21				Tasha	
22	Tasha/ Tasha, you get "A" for the day/				
23	for putting your name, putting your date on the paper/	What?	((LF))		
24		I don't get nuttin/			
25	Ready?				
26				Uh huh	
27	[To Rainier] Why don't you write darker than that?	I could get one			
28				Cuz, that's how he writes	
29	[To Shajuan] No, that's OK/		((LF))		
30		I don't get a "A" ?			
31	[To Rainier] Man, you don't press hard enough/				
32	[To Rainier] That's OK/ Listen to this/ Pick up, pick up your story now/ OK?				

Figure 4. Student comment from "outside" the discursive circle.

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
33	You ready? Follow along with me as I read/ It says, "Read the following paragraphs from The Acorn People by Ron Jones"/				
34	Put down on your pad, the acorn people/ OK/ Copy it right off of here so you get the spelling right/ The acorn people				
35				Should we put the author? Do you want the author?	
36	Right, the acorn people is the name of the story/				
37		Now, if you don't know how to spell a:corn/			
38	[To Tenika] Don't, don't bother being so neat. You gotta be quick, OK?				
39	[To Rainier] Alright, now you're doing good/ That's nice and dark.				
40	[To Tenika] The author? Right here/ "Ron Jones"/ Ron Jones/				
41	[To Tasha] Who's the author of this writing?				
42			Tasha/		
43	Tasha, right/		((LF))		

Figure 5. Student participation in IRE sequence.

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
61	Ready? It says "The final half mile looked straight up"/ Why do you suppose it looked straight up?				
62					Because they was going up a mountain/
63		They was going up a hill/ And plus it looks kinda steep/			
64	[To Shajuan] How do you know they're going up a hill?				
65		Because/ it said/ um/ it said that/			
66		"The final grade was a hillside/ of slate rock"			
67	[To Shajuan] Oh, you're reading ahead ((LF))				
68		"and loose gravel"/			
69	[To Shajuan] You're reading ahead/ Good/				
70	[To Rainier] How do you know they're going up a mountain?				
71					Because when they say straight up/
72	//Yeah, straight up]				And the summit/
73	And the summit/ You know that word summit/ OK/ Put down, put down the final half mile is straight up/				
74		Number two?			
75	Yeah/				

Figure 6. Student and teacher revoicings.

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
143					Who'd want to go up a mountain with wheelchairs?
144	Who would/ That's a key question! Put that down! That's good/ That's what the writer makes us think/ Who would want to go up this mountain with wheelchairs?				
145		Why would they want to go up a mountain with wheelchairs?			
146	Right/ Put that down/ Why would they? Why would they? What kind of a people is this?				
147	Why would they want to go up this mountain with wheelchairs?				
148		Yeah/ Put that down please/ [To Tasha] Don't you push me, OK?			
149	Before we're done/ we'll answer that question, OK?				
150				(...) really long sentence/	
151	Yeah/				
152				And why/ We should put why too/	
153	Yeah/ And why/ Who would want to go up the mountain in wheelchairs and why/ Good/ Yeah/				

Figure 7. Student "boom box" improvisation.

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
182		I learned how to spell actually ever since I was four/			
183	Ever since you were what?			( ) four/	
184	OK/ The second character is named Dominic/ and what does he wanna do?				
185			Carry people/	Carry people/	
186					Carry people/
187	He wants to carry people/ What do we know about Dominic/ therefore?				
188				He's helpful/	
189	He's helpful/ and/				
190			and/ he's helpful and/		
191		Will you put these in the laboratory?			
192		Will you all put this in the laboratory?			
193	What's a laboratory?				
194		The thing where you all be/ um/ workin and developin stuff/ Uh/ She put/			
195	We put this in the laboratory? What dya mean?				
196		Will y'all put that in the boom box?			
197	Oh/ the tape you mean?				
198		Yeah/			

Figure 8. Student "president" improvisation.

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
275	"Thomas nixed the idea, 'Not me, I'm not going up there on someone's back. Aaron had a similar plan, 'I'll watch.'"/				
276	Aaron agrees with Thomas/ I'll just watch/ OK			That means that/	
277				So that means that Aaron/ is probably/ probably is not in a wheelchair	
278					No/ Aaron probably is in a wheelchair/ that's why he said I'll probably have a similar plan/
279	Right/ put that down/				cuz/ um
280		Who was our president back in 1976?			
281	I don't know/why do you want to know that?				
282		Because I just want to know that	((LF))	((LF))	
283	((LF))/ I don't know/				
284	Lookit/ Let's worry about Aaron/ OK/				

Figure 9. Student "I want this story o:ver" improvisation.

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
293	OK/ Here we go/ Follow along/ we'll read a little more/				
294	Tell you what/ Why don't I read a whole chunk this time/ OK? You ready?		Uh huh/		
295		Like a chunk is (...)			
296	What? Should I read to the end of the paragraph?	(...)/ I want this story o:ver/ yes			
297			(...) would you/ like/ stop it/		
298	Here I go/ follow along/ "Spider and Benny were talking wildly about a movie they saw in which climbers used ropes and things/ During our deliberation Martin had moved several feet up the hill without our noticing"/				
299				Martin/	
300	Martin/			Martin/	
301				Martin can walk/	
302	Well/ let's see if Martin can walk/				
303		[To Gardner] Man/ you should go on/			
304	[To Shajuan] Tenika says Martin can walk/				

Figure 10. First student attempt to get back into the discourse.

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
308	"...Thomas and Aaron were still doubtful. Leaving their wheelchairs was not an easy thing to do."				
309				So/ Thomas and Aaron are/ are/	
310		What kind of mountain was this?		in wheelchairs/	
311	Thomas and Aaron are in wheelchairs/				
312		What kind of mountain/ what kind of		And Martin/	
313	Well/ we know Martin can't walk/ the regular way				
314			What kind of wheel/ what kind of mountain is this?		
315		I know/ yeah/ let's put that down for a question			
316	Put the question/ what kind of mountain is this?				
317				And why/	
318			We don't have to/		
319		Man/ she always gotta add her stupid			
320	What kind of mountain is this?/ is a good question	question/			
321		I came up with the question/ so y'all should/ thank you			
322			Uh unh/ I came out with it/		
323		Excuse me/ Dr. Gardner/ Did you hear when I said it first?			
324			No/ I didn't		I didn't
325		I said it first/	I/ I		
326		then she/ then she told me			
327			then he said/ then you said/		
328		I said/ what kind of mountain is this?	I know		
329		Then she had asked you/			
330	OK/	You know that I came out with it			

Figure 11. Second student attempt to get back into the discourse.

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
426	Now/ is Martin a wheelchair person/ do we know?				
427				Yep/	
428			No		No/
429				We don't know	Yes/
430			We don't know that/		Yes/
431	Look at your clues/		We don't know		Yes
432	What's it say about Martin?				Yes
433					Because Martin dragged himself up/ and he gave them/ everybody else the/ um/ idea to do it
434	Mar/ Martin invented the technique/ right/				
435		Guess what?		No/ kids invented it/	
436	Kids invented it/ but Martin invented it for this mountain climbing	Dr. Gardner?/ Dr. Gardner?			
437			Oh my god/ this is like a story/ not on television/ but		
438	Now listen/ Mar/	Hey I was talking about no Martin/			
439	Martin is a wheelchair person/ I guess/				cuz
440	But he's also strong/				he started/
441	Because what?				
442					He started the technique to go up the mountain/

Figure 12. Student "Christmas" improvisation.

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
480	Because he helps Thomas/ he carries Thomas/				
481				Because he carries {spoken slowly while writing}	
482	On his lap/				
483		Hey/ what do I want for Christmas?			
484		How bout a Jacuzzi?/ Yeah I want a Jacuzzi!			
485			We have a Jacuzzi at our house/		
486	You do?				
487			Uh huh/ it's like a bathtub/ it's not really a Jacuzzi/ but you just press the thing and the bubbles come out/		
488	Cool	Hey/ I got a Jacuzzi at my house/ I'm just saying that to have one to myself/			
489	Oh/	See/ I can go and chill in it on Friday night/	((LF))		
490	Kay/ you'll what?/ Chill in it?				
491		{Several students talk}			
492					Who carried Phillip?
493	Who carried Phillip?				
494			Um/ Martin carried him/		
495	Martin carried Aaron	{Continue talking about bathtubs and Jacuzzis}			
496		{Continue talking about bathtubs and Jacuzzis}		Wait a minute/	The narrator/
497	The narrator carried Thomas/	{Continue talking about bathtubs and Jacuzzis}		I got a question/	
498		{Continue talking about bathtubs and Jacuzzis}		What is the narrator's name?	
499	Here's/ here's a good question/ say it/				
500				What is the narrator's name?	

Figure 13. Final student participation in IRE sequence.

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
499	Here's/ here's a good question/ say it				
500				What is the narrator's name?	
501	The question is	Ron Jones			
502	what is the narrator's name?				
503	The answer is Ron Jones/ [To Shajuan] How do you know that?				
504		Because Ron Jones wrote the book/			
505	Ron Jones wrote the story				
506	Put that down/ Ron Jones is the narrator/ [To Shajuan] Man/ that's good thinking				

Appendix A

Excerpt from *The Acorn People*

Directions: Read the following paragraphs from The Acorn People by Ron Jones. Tell what you think is happening and describe the people in the story.

After our succession of ceremonious starts and stops, we reached the final grade to the summit. We had covered over two-and-a-half miles. The final half mile looked straight up. More forbidding than the incline, however, was the deterioration of the trail. It simply stopped. The final grade was a hillside of slate rock and loose gravel. There would be no way to pull or push the chairs up this. The wheels simply spun around for lack of traction. Spider called this place "Desperation," but no one laughed. Dominic suggested, "How about us trying to carry everyone?" Thomas nixed the idea, "Not me, I'm not going up there on someone's back." Aaron had a similar plan, "I'll watch." Spider and Benny were talking wildly about a movie they saw in which climbers used ropes and things. During our deliberation Martin had moved several feet up the hill without our noticing. He called down to us, "Hey, you guys, it's easy." Martin was sitting down, facing downhill. By moving his legs under him in a squat position and then pushing back, he edged up the hill in this sitting posture. He looked like he was rowing a boat. Only instead of rowing across water he was literally rowing up the hill on his bottom. Using legs and arms in an accordion fashion, he made steady progress. Benny was delighted, "Martin, you're amazing." Spider added to the compliment, "Make sure that man gets the mountain cross." Thomas and Aaron were still doubtful. Leaving their wheelchairs was not an easy thing to do.

After a long debate, and several demonstrations by Martin, we decided to make the ascent. Dominic sat against the hill and I placed Spider in his lap. Using belt buckles and safety straps from the wheelchairs I tied the two together. Dominic tried a few rows up the hill. It worked.Spider strapped to Dominic's stomach gave both of them the opportunity to look down the hill as they inched upward. It also freed Dominic's legs and arms for the hingelike movement and balance necessary to squeeze up the hill and not slip back. Benny was next in line. He wanted to try it by himself. In a trial effort he worked his way up the hill and right out of his pants. At his insistence we tied a pillow from one of the chairs to his butt. He was ready. With his strength he just might be able to drag his body the distance. Martin and Aaron were next. Martin's confidence helped Aaron. In a sitting position Martin shaped his body and legs into a lap. I gently placed Aaron against Martin and bound them together. Thomas and I were at the end of the ladder. I sat on the ground in front of Thomas and pulled him first out of the chair and onto me. We twisted and rotated until both of us were comfortable. Then tied ourselves together.

Like a caterpillar we edged our way up the slate. The loose rock gave and slipped into pockets that could be used as footholds. Our trail looked like a smooth slide bordered by tractor-like gouges. I thought to myself how a hiker someday would discover our tracks and the Santa Cruz Mountains would have evidence of its very own Bigfoot. Martin's invention was marvelous. Who would have thought of going up hill backward, sitting on our bottoms? We moved in a syncopated rhythm. First the legs pushing against the hill, followed quickly by a push with both hands. We would stop to rest and then continue. (Observing the valley floor below us, we saw the tree line slipping beneath our vision, aware that we could now see valleys moving away from our vantage point like huge green waves.) At two o'clock, according to Spider, we reached the top of Lookout Mountain. He gently gave the mountain one of his necklaces. Not the act of a conqueror, but a friend. We had done it.

Appendix B

Transcription Guide
(Modified version of Ochs, 1979, pages 63-65)

What to Mark	How to Mark
1. Utterance boundary	/ placed at end of utterance
2. Pause length	Minor puses not marked; utterances separated by significant pauses are placed on separate lines
3. Overlap	Overlapped utterances go on same line
4. Intonation	, marks low rise ? marks high rise . marks low fall ! marks exclamatory utterance place „.?! at end of utterance : marks extended voicing of sound capital letters mark increased volume: example: YOU SILLY/ _____ marks stress example: I want <u>that</u> one/. (( )) marks other voice qualities, e. g., examples: ((LF)) laugh ((WH)) whisper ((CR)) cry ((WH)) whimper
5. Intended addressee	[To person] marks an identifiable addressee example: [To José]
6. Quoted or read material	"quote" marks material that is being quoted or read example: It says, "Read the following paragraphs from <u>The Acorn People</u> by Ron Jones"/
7. Clarifying comment	{remark} marks a comment inserted by transcriber Example: "two and a half miles" {spoken slowly while writing}
8. Metatranscription marks	( ) unclear reading, no hearing achieved (word) tentative reading

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
1	OK/ Open your pad to a clean page/				
2	Do you, do you know how to take notes on your reading?		Open your pad/		
3			Ye: :s/	Yes/	
4	OK. We're gonna take notes on our reading this morning/				
5	[To Tenika] What do you use that for, keep the mosquitoes away?				
6		We ain't got no mosquitoes this time of year/			
7	I know/ I'm just being a wise guy/				
8		The Acorn People/			
9				[To Gardner] Because I have allergies	
10	[To Tenika] Oh, that helps allergies?			and I put that into my nose/	
11	OK/ Turn to a clean page in your pad here/				
12			What's the date?		
13		He's poor, right?			
14	We wrote on it, right?				
15		They got white/			
16	[To Rainier] Where is your writing, man? You didn't come last Thursday?				
17	Oh				
18	OK/ [To Rainier] Turn to this page right here/ Put those papers down. OK?		Bye girls/		

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
19	Follow along with me/ [To Tasha] Do you have a clean page? Yeah/ Put the date on it/ That's a good idea/ Today's 11/5/92/ See how she did? [To Tasha] What's your name?				
20			Tasha/		
21				Tasha	
22	Tasha/ Tasha, you get "A" for the day/				
23	for putting your name, putting your date on the paper/	What?	((LF))		
24		I don't get nuttin/			
25	Ready?				
26				Uh huh	
27	[To Rainier] Why don't you write darker than that?	I could get one			
28				Cuz, that's how he writes	
29	[To Shajuan] No, that's OK/		((LF))		
30		I don't get a "A" ?			
31	[To Rainier] Man, you don't press hard enough/				
32	[To Rainier] That's OK/ Listen to this/ Pick up, pick up your story now/ OK?				
33	You ready? Follow along with me as I read/ It says, "Read the following paragraphs from The Acorn People by Ron Jones"/				
34	Put down on your pad, the acorn people/ OK/ Copy it right off of here so you get the spelling right/ The acorn people				
35				Should we put the author? Do you want the author?	

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
36	Right, the acorn people is the name of the story/				
37		/Now, if you don't know how to spell a:corn/			
38	[To Tenika] Don't, don't bother being so neat. You gotta be quick, OK?				
39	[To Rainier] Alright, now you're doing good/ That's nice and dark.				
40	[To Tenika] The author? Right here/ "Ron Jones"/ Ron Jones/				
41	[To Tasha] Who's the author of this writing?				
42			Tasha/		
43	Tasha, right/		((LF))		
44		By Tasha and Rainier/			
45					That's my name/
46	And Tenika/				
47				[To Gardner] How'd ja know that?	
48	Actually, I looked at your folder/		((LF))		
49	But that's OK/ cuz I really like you/				
50	You ready?				
51	Follow along as I read. "After, after our succession of ceremonious starts and stops/ we reached the final grade to the summit. We had covered over two and a half miles. The final half mile looked straight up"/				
52	How far have they gone?				
53			Two and a half miles/	Two and a half miles/	
54	Write down, two and a half miles/				
55			[To Gardner] Just put/ like/ put number one?		

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
56	Yeah/ Put number one/ they've/ they've walked two and a half miles/ or they've gone/ we don't know they're walking yet/				
57				They have gone/	
58	They have gone two and a half miles/				
59				"two and a half miles" {spoken slowly while writing}	
60	[To Tenika] OK? You're gonna have to be quicker/ ((LF))				
61	Ready? It says "The final half mile looked straight up"/ Why do you suppose it looked straight up?				
62					Because they was going up a mountain/
63		They was going up a hill/ And plus it looks kinda steep/			
64	How do you know they're going up a hill?				
65		Because/ it said/ um/ it said that/			
66		"The final grade was a hillside/ of slate rock"			
67	//Oh, you're reading ahead ((LF))				
68		"and loose gravel"/			
69	You're reading ahead/ Good/				
70	[To Rainier] How do you know they're going up a mountain?				
71					Because when they say straight up/
72	//Yeah, straight up]				And the summit/

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
73	And the summit/ You know that word summit/ OK/ Put down, put down the final half mile is straight up/				
74		Number two?			
75	Yeah/				
76				"the final half/ half mile" {spoken slowly while writing}	
77			The final half what?		
78	Mile/				
79			Oh/		
80	They gotta go a half mile straight up/ almost/				
81	[To Tenika] How do you know how to spell straight?				
82		Ooo ( )		Because/ it's on the paper/	
83	You look on the paper/ Right/				
84				Do you think that they hear me? {In reference to the tape recorder}	
85	Yep, I hope so/				
86			((LF))		
87	You ready for the next part? "More forbidding"/				
88		//[To Rainier] Man, you gotta be quick Rainier]			
89	You gotta be quicker/				
90					( ) cept for my words/
91	Shajuan {Last Name}/				
92	[To Rainier] /Don't worry/ This is just your notes, OK				
93		You might as well ( )			
94					[To Shajuan] I would've been done before you/

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
95	Here we go/ "The final half mile looked straight up/ More forbidding than the incline however/ was the deterioration of the trail/ It simply stopped"/				
96	"The final grade was a hillside of slate/ rock/ and loose gravel/				
97			The/ Oh/ ((giggle))		
98	How do we wanna say that/ in our notes/				
99			"The final grade was a hillside of slate rock and loose gravel"/		
100	Or/ Right/ The trail/ The trail was loose/ rocks/ OK?				
101				The trail was loose rocks/	
102	OK				
103				Put number three?	
104	Right/			The trail was loose/	
105	They/ they/ that means they didn't have a sidewalk/ They didn't have/ a superhighway/ they didn't have a path even/				
106	All they could follow was loose rocks/				
107			Why did they ( )/		
108	How many people are there?				
109				I don't know/	
110	We don't know that yet/ do we?				
111					It sounds like there's two/
112	It sounds like two so far/ right/				
113	How do you know/				
114		( ) look like three/			

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
115	OK/ Let's go on/ "There would be no way to pull or push the chairs up this"/				
116	What chairs they talking about?				
117		( ) wheels/			
118	What?				
119			The wheels/		
120	How do you know the wheels?				
121			I don't know! ((LF))		
122	What?				
123					Chairs to sit down in/
124	The chairs to sit down in/				
125			Yep/		Yeah/
126	OK/				
127			The wheels/		
128	Then it says "the wheels simply spun around for lack of traction"/ What kind of chairs have wheels?				
129				No kinda chairs/	
130		Um/	Wait		
131				No kinda chairs/ No kind of chairs/	
132	It says there'd be no way to get the chairs up the hill because the wheels would just spin/ What kind of chairs have wheels?				
133					Oo/ um/
134			Wheelchairs/		
135				Wheelchairs/	
136					Wheelchairs/
137	How do you know that?				
138			cuz they have/ um/ wheels/		
139	OK/				
140					Who'd want to go up a mountain with wheelchairs?

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
141			((LF))	((LF))	
142	Say that again?				
143					Who'd want to go up a mountain with wheelchairs?
144	Who would/ That's a key question! Put that down! That's good/ That's what the writer makes us think/ Who would want to go up this mountain with wheelchairs?				
145		Why would they want to go up a mountain with wheelchairs?			
146	Right/ Put that down/ Why would they? Why would they? What kind of a people is this?				
147	Why would they want to go up this mountain with wheelchairs?				
148		Yeah/ Put that down please/ [To Tasha] Don't you push me, OK?			
149	Before we're done/ we'll answer that question, OK?				
150				(...) really long sentence/	
151	Yeah/				
152				And why/ We should put why too/	
153	Yeah/ And why/ Who would want to go up the mountain in wheelchairs and why/ Good/ Yeah/				
154	"Spider called this place Desperation/ but no one laughed"/ OK/ What do we know about the first character?				
155			His name is Spider/	His name/	His name is Spider/

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
156	OK/ Put that down/				
157	Put that down/ //One per			//One person]	
158				First character's name is Spider/	
159	OK/ One character in the story is named Spider we know/				
160	Good thinking/				
161				Spider/ Let's name his last name/	
162	What?				
163				Name his last name/ Spider question/	
164	Doesn't say his last name, does it?				
165			Uh uh	Uh huh	
166		( ) c'mon/			
167				( ) c'mon/	
168	"Dominic suggested/ how about us trying to carry everyone"?				
169				The second	
170	OK/ What do we write down for that?				
171				The second person is/	Err/ The second person/
172					Dominic/
173				Dominic	
174	Let's put it this way/	Dominique			
175					Domineek/
176	Dominic/ another character/ Dominic is another character				
177			But I already put/		
178	[To Tasha]That's OK/ The second character/ Now/ how do you know how to spell character?				
179				Because we had it as a spelling word/	
180	Oh/ you did?				

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
181		Yes ( )	I knew that/	Yes	
182		I learned how to spell actually ever since I was four/			
183	Ever since you were what?			( ) four/	
184	OK/ the second character is named Dominic/ and what does he wanna do?				
185			Carry people/	Carry people/	
186					Carry people/
187	He wants to carry people/ What do we know about Dominic/ therefore?				
188				He's helpful/	
189	He's helpful/ and/				
190			and/ he's helpful and/		
191		Will you put these in the laboratory?			
192		Will you all put this in the laboratory?			
193	What's a laboratory?				
194		The thing where you all be/ um/ workin and developin stuff/ Uh/ She put/			
195	We put this in the laboratory? What dya mean?				
196		Will y'all put that in the boom box?			
197	Oh/ the tape you mean?				
198		Yeah/			
199	Yeah/ we listen to the tape/ and I/ I wanna see if I ask good questions and make you give good answers/				
200		Yeah/			

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
201	Now/ my question is/ what do we know about Dominic? If he wants to carry people/ he's probably/				
202			helpful/		helpful/
203	Helpful/ and what else?				
204				Kind/	
205	Kind/		And care about people/		
206	He's probably helpful and kind/				
207			And care about people/		
208	He's prob/ and caring/				
209	He's probably also not/				
210		Do y'all visit seventh grade?		Not greedy/	not greedy/
211	No/ Lookit/ Think about what you know so far/ These people are going up a mountain in/				
212			wheelchairs/	wheelchairs/	wheelchairs/
213	In wheelchairs/ Dominic wants to carry people/ that means he's probably not/ in/				
214			A wheelchair/		
215	OK? Dominic's probably not in a wheelchair/ See how we figured that out?				
216				Yas/	
217	So now we know some people are in wheelchairs and some people aren't/				
218				Yas/	
219	OK/				
220				Now/ What about Spider?	
221	Let's put down/ What about Spider? We don't know yet if Spider's in a wheelchair or not/ See? Do we? What dya think?				

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
222				I think he's not in a wheelchair/	
223	Why do you think he's not in a wheelchair?				
224				Well/ cuz he's/ he sounds like he can walk/ it sounds like he can walk/ and/ and he's talkin about the wheelchairs/	
225	Why/ What makes Spider sound like he can walk?				
226				Well/ because of his name/ because of his name/	
227	Because of his name/ OK/				
228				And/ uh/ and/	
229			I think he can't walk/		
230	You think he can't walk?				
231			Um hmm/		
232	Why do you think that?				
233			Because/ um/		
234				Because of the word desperation?	
235	Cuz he said the word desperation/				
236	That could/ that could just mean it's a high steep hill/ right?				
237			Yeah/	He might/ could've just walked up and said desperation/	
238	OK/				
239				When he's tired of walking up a hill/	
240					You really need desperation/
241	Yeah/ [To Rainier] What do you want to say Rainier?				
242					I think he in a wheelchair/
243	You think Spider's in a wheelchair?				

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
244					Yeah/
245	Why do you think that?				
246					The/ uh/ Cuz/ like/ they/ it seem like he in a wheelchair cuz when he said desperation/
247	OK/				
248				Well/ desperation can just be that he can/ he might/ can walk/ and a person that's in a wheelchair can't walk then they don't really need desperation/	
249	OK/ That's a key word/ Desperation/				
250		I THINK SPIDER IS IN A WHEELCHAIR/			
251			{In reference to Shajuan leaning over and speaking directly into tape recorder} Don't get it up close/ then it's gonna run out of words/		
252	OK/ Let me read some more/		((LF))		
253	"How about us trying to carry everyone"/ Follow along, OK? Can you see where we are?				
254	"Thomas nixed the idea, 'Not me, I'm not going up there on someone's back.'"				
255	Thomas/ Thomas doesn't want to go in a wheelchair/ pardon me/ doesn't wanna go on someone's back/which means he's probably/				
256					In a wheelchair/
257	In a wheelchair/ Put that down				

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
258			wheelchair/		
259				Thomas is in a wheelchair/	
260	Thomas is probably in a wheelchair/				
261	"Aaron had a similar plan, 'I'll watch.'"				
262	That tells you what about Aaron?				
263				That/	He's not in a/ um/ wheelchair/
264					cuz/ they said he had a similar plan/ He tries to/ uh/ like/
265	But he had a similar plan to whose plan?			By/	Dominic/
266				Dominic/	Dominic/
267	No:o/ I don't think so/				
268			Thomas/		
269	Thomas had a similar/ plan/ No/ Aaron had a similar plan to/ whose plan?				
270					Dominic/
271				Spider?	
272			No/	Thomas?	
273			To Thomas/		
274	Right/ No/ Dominic suggests to/ Thomas is the right answer/ right				
275	"Thomas nixed the idea, 'Not me, I'm not going up there on someone's back. Aaron had a similar plan, 'I'll watch.'"/				
276	Aaron agrees with Thomas/ I'll just watch/ OK			That means that/	
277				So that means that Aaron/ is probably/ probably is not in a wheelchair	

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
278					No/ Aaron probably is in a wheelchair/ that's why he said I'll probably have a similar plan/
279	Right/ put that down/				cuz/ um
280		Who was our president back in 1976?			
281	I don't know/why do you want to know that?				
282		Because I just want to know that	((LF))	((LF))	
283	((LF))/ I don't know/				
284	Lookit/ Let's worry about Aaron/ OK/				
285			What'd you say to say/ what'd you say to put down?		
286	"Spider and Benny"/ Oh/ Aaron is probably in a wheelchair too/				
287				Aaron/ {spoken slowly while writing}	
288	See how we're cooking up these details?			is probably in a wheelchair/ {spoken slowly while writing}	
289			too/		
290	[To Tenika] That's amazing/ You said/ "Aaron is probably in a wheelchair" {spoken slowly as if reciting while writing}/ as you wrote it/ and she went/ "too"		((LF))		
291	Because she was writing the same thing/ and she added the too/				
292	[To Tasha] Did you notice that?		((LF))	((LF))	
293	OK/ Here we go/ Follow along/ we'll read a little more/				

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
294	Tell you what/ Why don't I read a whole chunk this time/ OK? You ready?		Uh huh/		
295		Like a chunk is (...)			
296	What? Should I read to the end of the paragraph?	(...)/ I want this story o:ver/ yes			
297			(...) would you/ like/ stop it/		
298	Here I go/ follow along/ "Spider and Benny were talking wildly about a movie they saw in which climbers used ropes and things/ During our deliberation Martin had moved several feet up the hill without our noticing"/				
299				Martin/	
300	Martin/			Martin/	
301				Martin can walk/	
302	Well/ let's see if Martin can walk/				
303		[To Gardner] Man/ you should go on/			
304	[To Shajuan] Tenika says Martin can walk/				
305				Uh huh/	
306					Runnin theirself up the hill
307	Let's see what he does/			Or/ or/ or/	

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
308	Martin had moved several feet up the hill without our noticing"/ The question is/ can Martin walk?/ "'Hey, you guys, it's easy.'/ Martin was sitting down/ facing downhill. By moving his legs under him in a squat position and then pushing back, he edged up the hill in this sitting posture. He looked like he was rowing a boat. Only instead of rowing across water he was literally rowing up the hill on his bottom. Using legs and arms in an accordion fashion, he made steady progress. Benny was delighted, 'Martin, you're amazing.' Spider added to the compliment, 'Make sure that man gets the mountain cross.' Thomas and Aaron were still doubtful. Leaving their wheelchairs was not an easy thing to do."		((WH)) He's in a wheelchair/ in a wheelchair/		
309				So/ Thomas and Aaron are/ are/	
310		What kind of mountain was this?		in wheelchairs/	
311	Thomas and Aaron are in wheelchairs/				
312		What kind of mountain/ what kind of		And Martin/	
313	Well/ we know Martin can't walk/ the regular way				
314			What kind of wheel/ what kind of mountain is this?		

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
315		I know/ yeah/ let's put that down for a question			
316	Put the question/ what kind of mountain is this?				
317				And why/	
318			We don't have to/		
319		Man/ she always gotta add her stupid			
320	What kind of mountain is this?/ is a good question	question/			
321		I came up with the question/ so y'all should/ thank you			
322			Uh unh/ I came out with it/		
323		Excuse me/ Dr. Gardner/ Did you hear when I said it first?			
324			No/ I didn't		I didn't
325		I said it first/	I/ I		
326		then she/ then she told me			
327			then he said/ then you said/		
328		I said/ what kind of mountain is this?	I know		
329		Then she had asked you/			
330	OK/	You know that I came out with it			
331	OK/ so we got that established				
332	((LF))	I said/ she took my question!			
333	OK		Scuse me/	So far we have nine/	
334	Martin gets down on his butt/ sits down and backs	ugh/ that's			
335	Listen/ he backs himself up the hill sliding on his butt, right?				
336				Yes/	
337	Kay/ We know Martin might not be/ Martin might not be able to walk				

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
338			Uh huh/		
339	Martin might be able to walk/ but he's going up the mountain anyway/ right?				
340			Mar/	Right/ in a fashion/ (royal) fashion/	
341	Accordion fashion/				
342	Here we go/ I'll read some more				
343					He's crawlin up the hill
344	He's crawling up the hill backwards				
345				Backwards/	
346	"After a long debate, and several demonstrations by Martin, we decided to make the ascent. Dominic sat against the hill and I placed Spider in his lap. Using belt buckles and safety straps from the wheelchairs I tied the two together. Dominic tried a few rows up the hill. It worked. Spider strapped to Dominic's stomach gave both of them the opportunity to look down the hill as they inched forward. It also freed Dominic's legs and arms for the hingelike movement and balance necessary to squeeze up the hill and not slip back."				
347	OK/ put that down/				
348		What?			
349	Dominic/ Dominic/ how do you want to say it?				

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
350		Dominique		Dominic/ and/ and/ Spider/ rowing/ were tied together/ and were rowing up the hill/	
351	OK/ Dominic and Spider were tied together/				
352		What kind of were is this?/ Double/ U/ H/ E R/			
353	Double/ U/ E/ R/ E				
354			Dominic and Spider were tied together/		
355	Dominic and Spider were tied together/ and what?				
356			And climbed up the hill/		
357	And were rowing up the hill/ backwards/				
358	You see/ Martin invented the technique that let's them all go up the hill/				
359	You see that?			(...) tied together and rowing up the hill/	
360			Up the hill backwards/		
361		How much/ rowing up the hill/			
362			We could press this right here/ or/ (...)		
363	That's the microphone/				
364			Oh/		
365	Here's the stop over here/ You ready/				
366				Well/ my sister and brother use this technique to go down the stairs/	
367	Sliding on their rear ends?				
368				Stomachs/	My sister do like this/
369			((LF))/ Their stomachs/		
370	So/ this is a common kid's technique/				
371	That's a good point/ I think we should put that down/				

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
372	Kids slide on their behinds and their stomachs/ put that down/ adults forget how to do that/ see?				
373				My bro/ my ah:h/ my father tried to do that/ he slid down the steps/ and uh/ and sprained his ankle/	
374	He hurt himself?		((LF))		
375	So/ kids are better at that than adults/ huh?/ I like that/ that's good thinking/		((LF))		
376			Now/ what did you say to put/ because I forgot/		
377	Put down/ kids/ kids are good at sliding up and down stairs this way/				
378				And uh/ one time/	
379	I remember doing that when I was a kid/				
380				One time my sister did like this/ and she went like this/ and she almost sprained her ankle/	
381	[Several people, teacher and students, talk at once]				
382	OK/ here comes the next part/				
383	"Benny was next in line. He wanted to try it by himself. In a trial effort he worked his way up the hill and right out of his pants."				
384			((LF))	((LF))	((LF))
385			Very funny/((LF))		
386	Let's not write that part down/		((LF))		
387	"At his insistence we tied a pillow from one of the chairs to his butt. He was ready. With his strength"				

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
388		Wait/ where you guys say that at?			
389					{Pointing to the right-hand column of the text} On this side/ Shajuan/
390			((LF))		
391	{Pointing to the right-hand column of Demetrius's page} Right here I'm reading				
392		Wait/ wait/ wait/ don't go/ don't go/ don't go/			
393	Where it says/ "Benny was next in line"				
394				{Reads} "He wanted to try it by himself."	
395	"It also freed Dominic's legs and arms for the hingelike movement and balance necessary to squeeze up the hill and not slip back. Benny was next in line. He wanted to try it by himself. In a trial effort he worked his way up the hill and right out of his pants."		((LF))		
396	"At his insistence we tied a pillow from one of the chairs to his butt. He was ready. With his strength he just might be able to drag his body the distance."				
397	Benny has to drag his body/ put that down/ that says/				
398				Benny has to drag his body/	
399	Benny has to drag his body/ what does that say about Benny?				

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
400				Benny slides his pants off his butt/	
401	What does that say about Benny/		Benny has to		
402	That he has to drag his body?/ he's				
403				he's/ he's up there rowing his self down the hill/	
404	he's/ his legs don't work/				
405			Probably needs a wheelchair going this far/		
406	He's probably a wheelchair kid/ or at least his legs don't work/ OK/ he has to drag his body		Why do they		
407			call it the air/ the acorn people?		
408			Why do they call em the acorn people?		
409	I'll tell you that next week/ OK?		Um hmm/ OK		
410	If I tell you that now/ it's not a/ it's not a clue in the story yet/		Oh/		
411				What is it supposed to mean (...) drags himself downhill?	
412			Oh/ I know/		
413		I know/			He drags himself up the hill
414		[To Gardner] I buy that tape recorder off you/	Alright/ it says/		It says/
415	How much?				
416		A hundred bucks/			
417	You got it/		((LF))		
418		I got money/ I sell stuff/			
419	What do you sell?				
420		I sell/ um:m/ I sell sneakers/ I sell suits/ coats/ all that stuff/			

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
421			Let's get on with the story/		
422	Lookit/	(...) do that stuff too			
423	Lookit/ here we go/				
424	"Martin"/	We had a grand opening last Sunday/			
425	"Martin and Aaron were next. Martin's confidence helped Aaron. In a sitting position Martin shaped his body and legs into a lap. I gently placed Aaron against Martin and bound them together."				
426	Now/ is Martin a wheelchair person/ do we know?				
427				Yep/	
428			No		No/
429				We don't know	Yes/
430			We don't know that/		Yes/
431	Look at your clues/		We don't know		Yes
432	What's it say about Martin?				Yes
433					Because Martin dragged himself up/ and he gave them/ everybody else the/ um/ idea to do it
434	Mar/ Martin invented the technique/ right/				
435		Guess what?		No/ kids invented it/	
436	Kids invented it/ but Martin invented it for this mountain climbing	Dr. Gardner?/ Dr. Gardner?			
437			Oh my god/ this is like a story/ not on television/ but		
438	Now listen/ Mar/	Hey I was talking about no Martin/			
439	Martin is a wheelchair person/ I guess/				cuz

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Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
440	But he's also strong/				he started/
441	Because what?				
442					He started the technique to go up the mountain/
443	Right/ but he's also strong enough to carry Aaron/				
444	on his lap/			Why you startin a new page?	
445			And we had (...)		Cuz I'm already done
446	He's skipping lines between/				
447			I'm skipping lines too/		
448				Me too/	
449	Kay/ skip line from now on/ Put down/ Martin is strong enough to carry Aaron/				
450				Martin/ Martin is strong enough/ to carry/ Aaron/ {spoken slowly while writing}	
451	Kay	Carry Aaron/ rhymin words			
452			Oh/ how do you spell Aaron?		
453	A/ oh/ look on your paper/ you'll find it	Look/			
454		Look/ I spelled enough the short way/ E/ N/ U/ F/ F?			
455	How do you spell it the right way?				
456		{Spoken in unison by all students} E/ N/ O/ U/ G/ H/			
457	When you're taking notes/ you spell it the short way?				
458		No/ I didn't spell it right cuz/ cuz it ain't important/			
459			That/ that's how we/ that's how we talk/ enuff/ that's how you spell it/ like when you say that/		

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
460	What do you do when you have a spelling test?				
461			We write it right/	We just write it the right way/	
462	The right way/	[Several students talk]			
463	Here it goes now/ back to the story/ you ready?				
464	"Thomas and I were at the end of the ladder. I sat on the ground in front of Thomas and pulled him first out of the chair and onto me. We twisted and rotated until both of us were comfortable. Then tied ourselves together."				
465	What do we call the guy telling the story?				
466		[Several students talk] The narrator/			
467	The narrator/				
468	Who/			It's like a personal narrative/	
469				It's like a personal narrative/	
470	Right/ this is his personal narrative/ what do we know about the narrator?				
471				That/ he/ I think he's / not/ um/ I think he's not/ um:m/ a wheelchair person/	
472	Right/ put that down/ the narrator is not a wheelchair person/				
473		What?			
474	The narrator/ spelled/ N/ A/ RR/ A/ TOR/				
475	[To Tasha] How'd you know how to spell that?				

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
476			I don't know/ ((LF))		
477	The narrator is not a wheelchair person/				
478			I did see it in a book/	Not a wheel {spoken slowly while writing}	
479				person	
480	Because he helps Thomas/ he carries Thomas/				
481				Because he carries {spoken slowly while writing}	
482	On his lap/				
483		Hey/ what do I want for Christmas?			
484		How bout a Jacuzzi?/ Yeah I want a Jacuzzi!			
485			We have a Jacuzzi at our house/		
486	You do?				
487			Uh huh/ it's like a bathtub/ it's not really a Jacuzzi/ but you just press the thing and the bubbles come out/		
488	Cool	Hey/ I got a Jacuzzi at my house/ I'm just saying that to have one to myself/			
489	Oh/	See/ I can go and chill in it on Friday night/	((LF))		
490	Kay/ you'll what?/ Chill in it?				
491		{Several students talk}			
492					Who carried Phillip?
493	Who carried Phillip?				
494			Um/ Martin carried him/		
495	Martin carried Aaron	{Continue talking about bathtubs and Jacuzzis}			
496		{Continue talking about bathtubs and Jacuzzis}		Wait a minute/	The narrator/

Appendix C Transcript of "Acorn People" Small Group Discussion

Line	Teacher: Gardner	Student 1: Shajuan	Student 2: Tasha	Student 3: Tenika	Student 4: Rainier
497	The narrator carried Thomas/	{Continue talking about bathtubs and Jacuzzis}		I got a question/	
498		{Continue talking about bathtubs and Jacuzzis}		What is the narrator's name?	
499	Here's/ HERE'S A GOOD QUESTION/ say it/				
500				What is the narrator's name?	
501	The question is	Ron Jones			
502	what is the narrator's name?				
503	The answer is Ron Jones/ [To Shajuan] How do you know that?				
504		Because Ron Jones wrote the book/			
505	Ron Jones wrote the story				
506	Put that down/ Ron Jones is the narrator/ [To Shajuan] Man/ that's good thinking!				